[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gaúa-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
● 192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirð-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

AKWANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

●192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréesha, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER ...

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an [146] ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven segments, which are: [192]

/gam X'á-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
X'á-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[283]

● 192 411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usu-
278 ally poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
463 gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

824

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

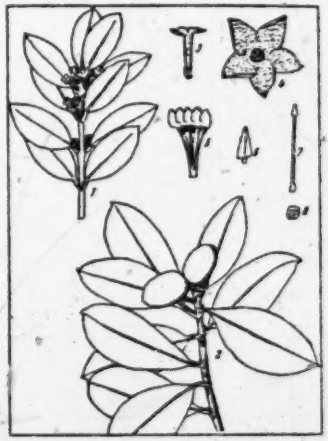

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
●192 198 Evening	n !ŏn	áka uj	–
Shoulder	//kŏwi	schu !gnŏru	tuwi
Alone	n n/e	–	nŏ-e
Old	/gă	tsau !gna	X 'uwu
Dread	!goatschi	–	daŭ-tsi
Arm	//há	!gòm	X 'ùm
Armband	gama gama	–	gama gama
Ashes	do	–	dă dŏwa
Branch	!Khai ≠haŭsi	–	dă-i
Eye	/gă	–	schoŭ-dă̆
Ax	/i	–	–
Cheek	tsoŭ //ă	/gă̆m	–
Beard	tsi ≠khŏi	–	dschi-tũe
Stomach	≠gu	–	dŭb
Leg	//gŭm	/gowĭ	ju Tă̆m
Mountain	//khámi	//khawĭ	ŭ kăshe
Bee	so schum	schŭm	schŭm-si
Bitter	//ga	//gà	dschi da

[66 cont.]

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	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Leaf	dorá	dorà	dschi do-a
Blind	schŏŭ	/ga	–
Flower	ngŏ	gŏ	tsi-gu
Blood	/a↘	/ao↘	/ou↘
Bride	tsaŭ	á	–
Bridegroom	≠gou ≠khán	≠gnom	–
Firewood	nda	–	da
Well [for water]	//ga	–	ha
Chest	//goá	/goá	dschi-tŭa
Chameleon	!nobésa'	–	nábasa
Thumb	//gaŭ goë	≠goŭ	dŏŭ dŭm
Thorn	//gái	–	/gai
Thirst	măm /gám	/gam	tăm-du
Egg	dschi !nŭ	gŏ	dschi nŭ
Lizard	!gŏrŭ	!gorŭ	dorŭb
Intestines	!gusi	ssi	–
Fever	//gái	≠gi	–
Finger	!goŭ	!gou	dŏu

3: Lebzelter--130 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

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	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Flame	da tá̋li	–	tarí
Flesh	//khá̋	//khá̋	thá̋
Fly	soa soá̋	–	doá̋ doá̋
Flea	soa soa /né̋	–	doá̋
Wing	!kó̋hi	–	dschi tŭ̋i
River	≠nõ̃	–	nõ̃
Woman	tsao! gná̋	!gn-ná̋	thá̋ŭ̋
Poison	!ó̋a	!o↘	–
Grass	//khei-si	//ei	ei-si
Hair	ñi !khó̋i	!khoi	ikhoisi
Hand	!gaŭ !n	!gou	taúne
Neck	≠gai	–	rŭ̋-tè
Hard	≠khaŭ↘	–	dschi-tau
Hot	!khú̋i	–	û̋
Hunger	//kha-be	–	dawí
Porcupine	//gan↘	–	tam
Cold	//ga-ú̋	–	tse
Small	tsē̃ ma	–	tsá̋ma

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
192 198 Bone	≠ǔ	–	ǔ
Leather	!noǔ	–	thấu
Liver	dschế	–	tē
Light [easy]	schúi	–	da-sii
Man	!hoấ	!hoấ	hoấ
Tired	≠oế	–	oe
Mouse	!hǔi	–	nui
Navel	nế	–	ne
Night	/gu	/ngǔ	du
New	se	–	dise
Ear	/húi	–	m-húi
Guinea fowl	a di	–	á-ni
Pipe	!khố	–	oh
Smoke	da schǔấ	–	dásua
[67] Rich	!gấǔcha	–	ti
Rib	≠khási	–	dási
Salt	dimí	–	diri
Shadow	!kha-di	–	khári
Bad	/khấǔ	–	!khã

[67 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorǒ, schǒli	–	sǒ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khé
Forest	!goǎ	–	dain tu
Warm	//ǔ	–	tǔi
Road	//nǎma	–	nña
Water	!gǔ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

[68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
(192) much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[439] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

B /260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
191 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
192 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this
193 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

B
H
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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|e = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gasab
My brother	mé tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsau tang	tsau tang	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂōi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
Gobá	Gobá	|navén	Ovambo from the Okovanggo
Nama	|á	Namán	Nama
|ung	|ung	—	White man
Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—	Heikum
|ung	|ung	—	Kung

2. Parts of the body

|né	|nē	tanás	Head
|ang	|ang	|aus	Neck
tsóa	|oa	‖áib	Breast
|u	|u	‖umss	Abdomen
|um	|um	|nub	Leg
ǂá	ǂá	‖oab	Arm
|gau	|gau	|gunub	Finger
ǂei	ǂei	|gunus	Toe
dang	dang	ǂaren	Buttocks
|ō	|ō	|gaab	Back
|nē |oí	|nē |oi (head)	|ub	Hair
|ā	|ā	mus	Eye
tsch:ung	tsch:ung	ǂguis	Nose
tschik úi	tschik úi	|houms	Beard
tschik ó	tschik ó	amss	Lip
ntáli	ntáli	nami	Tongue
ts:au	ts:au	‖unss	Teeth
|ui	|ui	ǂgãiss	Ear
|um	|um	sonís	Navel
tá	tá	χãb	Penis
sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás	Testicles
ntχoá	|oá	‖oás	Knee
|uru	|uru	|unib	Elbow
|au	|au	|umi	Hand
|nō	|nō	kob	Skin
|u	|u	ǂob	Bone
|oi	|ai	‖unib	Fat
|ā	|ā	‖ani	Flesh
|n	|ng	|aub	Blood
|χai	|χai	|eisen	Ill

3. Animals

|ó	|ō	ǂkoab	Elephant
|ō |gó	|o |gó	aure ǂkoab	male
|ō dē	|o dī	tararé ǂkoas	female
ǂoá	ǂoá	|naib	Giraffe
ǂoa |gō	ǂoa |gō	|naib	male
ǂoa dē	ǂoa dī	tararé |nais	female

BH

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Eland	ǀn	ǀn	ǀani
Hartebeest	tzːō	itzːō	ǂănab
Wildebeest (gnu)	ǀai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	ǀóa	ǀóa	χaib
Duiker	ǀau	ǀu	ǀaub
Hog	ǀaru	ǀoa	dirib
Bird	tzːába	ntχū	anin
Dog	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Lion	ǀeí	antei	χam
Hyena	ǁui	ǁui	ǂirab
(The word //ui evidently arose onomatopoetically, since the cry of the hyena is a distinct "hui.")			
Jackal	ǀiχa	—	ǀairib
Hare	ǀai	ǀai	ǀoab
Guinea fowl	ari	ǀnam	ǀinab
Ant	ǂu ǂu	ǀno ǀoani	ǂovirub
Horse	ǀnōé	ǀnōé	hab
Cattle	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bull	gummi ǀgō	gummi ǀgō	gumma ǀōb
Ox	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Cow	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Calf male	tzaume ǀō	tzaume ǀō	tsanob
female	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural male	tzaume ǀōssen	—	—
female	tzaume dèssen	—	—
Feces	sang	si	χaub
Human tracks	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Weapons and Tools

Bow	ǀau	ǀau	khās
Arrow	ǁau	ǁau	ǀāb
Arrow feathers	ǀui	ǀui	ǀambo
Arrow poison	kːaugum	uma	ǀāb
Spear	ǀú ǀu	ǀú ǀu	ǀei goab
Iron	ǀuri (Nama)	keie	ǀurib
Stool	ǀéisson	gacho	Stuhl (Dutch)
Hook for game traps	ǀui	ǂang ǂang	—
Quiver	ǀguru	ǀguru	—
Leather loincloth of the men	sora	tschːora	—
Leather loincloth of the women	ǀu	ǀu	—

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ǀei	ǀei	—	Shoulder hide of the women
ǁā	ǁā	ǀabas	Head covering
ǀoá	ǀõé	ǁarós	Shoe
réĭma	rēima	ring (Dutch)	Ring
ǀõu	ǀāuma	—	Awl for leather
ǀei	ǀi	ǀos	Axe
ǀā	ǂei	goas	Knife
ǀá ta:u	ǂei tschu	goan ǁos	Cutting edge of a knife
da	ǀoá	ǀein	Wood
ǀum	ǀum	ǀuis	Stone
ta:u	ta:u	ǁaus	Settlement

5. Meteorological Concepts and Related Matters

ǀgam	ǀgam	sores	Sun
ǀui	ǀui	ǁaab	Moon
ǀnq	ǀng	ǀgamiros	Star
ǀá	ǀá	ǂoab	Wind
n ǀga	ǀgā di ǀgam	ǀanub	Rain
n ǀga	ǀga di ǀgam	ǀanu ǁaib	Rainy season
ǀnui	ǀnui	ǁaab	Month
kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu	Year
tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees	Day
ǀa ǀang	ǀa ǀau	ǁóaka	Morning
ǀuia (ǀui =moon)	ǀui	ǀoēs	Evening
ǀu	ǀu	tsúχub	Night
ǀu ǀn	ǀu di ǀn	tsuχub	Midnight
ǀgam kui	ǀaiu ǀā	middag(Dutch)	Midday
a dagĕ ǁang	kakĕ ǀgam dignau	netzees	Today
noi ǀuma	noi ǀuma	ǁari	Tomorrow
ama ǀgam nau	ǀgam dinau agaideú	ǁari	Yesterday
—	ǀgamga úndoa	aitzĕ	Day before yesterday
a ǀnausaua	a ǀnausaua	ǀaudi	Cloud
kǃā	kǃā	ǀovab	Sand
ǀang	ǀang	haiti	Tree
ǀang nassi	ǀang nassi	hei ǀums	Bush
ǁai	ǁai	ǀān	Grass

6. Diet and Related Matters

um	um	ǂun	Food
um	um	ǂun	To eat
natschng	natschng	ā	To drink
ǀǃá	ǀǃá	ǀā	Hunger

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Thirst	gaŋ	gam	ǁā
I am hungry	mē ǀ:ā	mē ǀ:ā	—
I am thirsty	mē ǀgam	mē ǀgam	—
Spoon	hei ǂgam	hei ǂgam	ǁoab
Plate	ǃnu	ǃnu	ǀores
Pot	kǃō	kǃō	suss
Fire	ndā	ndā	ǀeis
Fire apparatus of stone	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Fire apparatus of wood (twirling sticks)	dâni (ndā=Feuer)	dângl	—
To cook	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	sai
Meat	ǀā	ǀā	ǁani
Water	ǀu	ǀu	ǁami
Tobacco	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak(Dutch)
To smoke	χei	χ!	ǂei
Give me something to eat	na χei	—	—
Pipe	ǀnō	ǀō	ǀos
Milk	gu	gu	dai
Egg	ǀu	tschǃunu	ǀuwus
Fat	ǀai	ǀai	ǁunib
To roast	schang (nama)	ǀănussen	sang
Kind of nut (veld crop)	ǀō	ǀā	ǁnaun

(Described in the text under No. 11.)

7. Verbs

(The prefix haga- expressing the infinitive has been omitted.)

Sleep	tsǃā	tsǃā	ǁum
Go	ū	ū	ǀung
Say	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	mi
Tell me	ǀnoa mē	ǀnoa mē	—
Make, do	ō	ō	di
See	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
Sit	ǀō	ǀō	ǂgu
Hit	ǂam	ǀū	ǂnau
Seize	ngū	gúa	ǀkō
Kill	ǀung	ǀá du	ǀam
Shoot (with bow)	tχā	ǀā	ǁau
Rifle	ǀabu (nama)	ǀnoǻ	ǀabús
Run	ǀgā	ǀgǻ	ǀóē
Stand	nǁgǻ	ǀnu	mà
Laugh	tsi	tsi	āi
Hear	tsǃā	hatsǃā	ǁau
Smell	ǀu	ǀu	ǀaba

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ga|n	ga|n	tzătză	Taste
nds|ō	|ō	|urib	Feel
|óa	|ăzo	‖assen	Wash oneself
|abi (nama)	ha |uru	|abi	Ride
zχáni	demzam	ǂā	Dance
|a|á	|a|á	|aia ǂau	Enjoy oneself
dzn	ha |au	|ā	Be sad
|nai	|nai	nā	Bite
me ‖ei ‖ei	—	|ore	Request
|ā	|āma	batale(Dutch)	Pay
‖ama (nama)	‖ama (nama)	‖amá	Buy
|hei	|hei	|au	Cut
‖n	‖n	|ei	Tie, fasten
kora	kora	oré	Untie, loosen

8. Adjectives

gats|ă	gats|ă	|ei	Good
ga |au	ga |au	zua	Evil
tχā	goá	|ham	Cowardly
ga |um (very)	|um	isá	Beautiful
kui	dā	|gam	Hot
|ā	|á	|aib	Cold
tz|i	|u (= water)	|a	Wet
|au	|u |é	ǂnasa	Dry
ze |au	|au	|uli	White
|ang	|aug	|amr	Green
ǂangasen	‖daun	|óa	Blue
dschō	dschō	ǂnaú	Black
|ā	|ā	|uni	Yellow
|aissen	|ā	|abá	Red
|ósse	|ā?	|aisse	Rapid
auta|eá	aussehaú	|ausse	Slow
ts|éma	ta|éma	subusse	Soft
|χ|	|χ|	|arisse	Loud
|χóa |χei	|χóa	ǂgausib	Healthy
|χai	|χai	|aissen	Sick
|gao	|gao	|geissa	Strong
schui	|χá	subu	Weak
|ai oder |ē	|ē	‖ōb	Dead
|oa |ē	|oa |ē	odide	Alive
|ang	|áo	gáro	Hard
kam	kam	tsau(ra)	Soft

9. Personal Pronouns

mē or mēhí	me	dita	I
tschoē é	tschoē é	saatz	You

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9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǂ̌hng	ǂ̌hng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts¦ǂ̌	ts¦ǂ̌	sado
They	ǂ̌hng(?)	tschudi tsch¦ǂ̌	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mḗhng	mḗhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǂ̌hng(?)	ǂ̌hing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǂ̌	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǂ̌	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǂ̌	—	mǂ̌ pa
How?	kole wǂ̌	—	mǂ̌ pa
Why?	disse wǂ̌	—	dein /ǂ̌roma
What?	atchissi	atchissi	táre

12. Plural Formation

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In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye, /oí hair,
/āsen eyes. /oísen hairs.

193 /267 cont./
insert the syllables na dō.

English	Heikum	Kung
I have slept	mē na do ts!ă	me /eia di ts!ă
You have slept	tschoē e na do ts a	tschoe e /eia di ts a

D. Imperative

The imperative is expressed by means of the verbal stem.

Sleep	ts!ă	ts!ă
Go	ū	ū

E. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by attaching the prefix haga to the verbal stem.

To sleep	haga ts!ă	haga ts!ă
To go	haga u	haga u

15. Customary Phrases

●192 What is your name	a /u	tschoe ē or a tschuē
What are you saying	atchissi a di koia	atchissi a di koia
Where is he?	ahng kolewa wa	—
Give me	na mē	na mē
What do you want	atchissi wa	atchiss 'a diū
Yes	ts!ing	—
No	koē	koē
Come here	oē	oē

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Kung

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe dixi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *dixi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwexi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1936), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wixi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe dixi*.

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dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */gs /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */naw*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75-77.

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821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ǁGoab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, I, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

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N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to ≠*gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung 792
say that the mother has ≠*gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

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it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water." [192]

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Xam

193 ã or ą or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǂkõą "grandfather", ǁkã "brother", ʘpwoą "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".

[196] [601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 [192] On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ oa, but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

193 196 601 ʘpwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes "child", which in ǂxam is ǂkwã. That ʘpoą "son" and ʘpwaxai "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ʘpwai-ǂhĩ "father-in-law" is derived from ʘpwa "child" and ǂhaą "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ʘpwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaą.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǂkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 601 ǁkã, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The adjective ǂkeri simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dzou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The ǂkuŋ terms show more variety. ǂkū ǂnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǂga and ǂge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǂkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as mama. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either aba or ǂku. Aba is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. Eisha I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǂkuŋ kwena means "grown-up people", ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word tahō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

223. DORMAN, S.S.
The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their language.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. 47: 37-112 Jan. 1917. [113] [107]

(Contains examples of folk-lore in addition to linguistic material).

224. ENCYCLOPAEDIA Britannica: a new survey of universal knowledge. London.
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225. FESTSCHRIFT Meinhof. Hamburg, 1927.

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226. GREENBERG, Joseph H.
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Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 6: 3 1950. Part VI. The click language.

227. HESTERMANN, S.
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8: 219-250.1913.

228. LANHAM, L.W. and HALLOWES, D.P.
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Afr. Stud. 15: 45-48. 1956. [192] [197]

(Language spoken by the Bushman of the Eastern Transvaal contains borrowed words from Zulu, Swazi, Tonga, English and Afrikaans and is linked with ǂ Khomani of the Southern Kalahari).

229. LANHAM, L.W. and HALLOWES, D.P.
An outline of the structure of Eastern Bushman.

Afr. Stud. 15(3): 98-118. 1956.

230. MAINGARD, L.F.
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S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 31: 117-143. Nov., 1934.

231. MAINGARD, L.F.
Some linguistic problems of South Africa. 2 maps.

S. Afr. Journal Sci. 26: 835-865. Dec., 1929.
p. 863-865 Bibl.

232. MAINGARD, L.F.
Three Bushman languages. Part 1. map

Afr. Stud. 16: 37-71. 1957.

(Deals with ǂDzu/ʔoa : si and //ganakwe)

824
262
[192]

81. Grewia sp. (berry)
82. Ziziphus mucronata (berry)
83. not determined - !Kung name -"todi" (root)
84. not determined - !Kung name -"!gwi" (root)
85. not determined - !Kung name -"//aiżeri" (root)

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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being" named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold water and eats it

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun'-Buschleuten," 14.

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from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help [illegible] Huwe i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, *op. cit.*, 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone le le!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The 10 Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service 776 of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people [756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

184 The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 776 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

● [192] Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [177] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /'*Kkun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuŋ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Isees*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dɪimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Eroḃ*, mentioned by Lebzelter [197] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Eloḃ*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, II, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Eroḃ* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Eloḃ* into *Eroḃ* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in *!Khū* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

B H 192 197